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## BOSTON TRADERS IN HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, 1789-1823\*

On October 15, 1819, there was an interesting ceremony in the vestry of Park Street Church, Boston. A company of seven missionaries with their wives and children, and with three "natives of Owhyhee" were "formed into a Church of Christ," to go out and convert the heathen of the "Sandwich Islands." The next morning, at a special meeting in the same house of worship, Hopu, the most hopeful of the Hawaiians, addressed a crowded assembly. "It was a most affecting spectacle to see a native of Owhyhee preaching the gospel to the citizens of Boston." So great was the interest in this missionary enterprise of the Orthodox New England Church, that over five hundred persons received Holy Communion at a farewell service the following Sabbath. On Saturday morning, October 23, the final farewell took place at Long Wharf, crowded with sympathetic spectators. The Rev. Dr. Worcester offered up a prayer, Hopu delivered another speech, and all united in singing "Blest be the tie that binds" and "When shall we all meet again?" A barge from the U. S. S. *Independence* conveyed the missionaries to the vessel chartered for the voyage by the American Board, the brig *Thaddeus* of Boston; which in a short time weighed anchor and dropped down the stream to Boston Light.<sup>1</sup>

Over five months elapsed before this Hawaiian *Mayflower* raised the snow-crowned summit of Mauna Loa. On April 4, 1820 one hundred and sixty-three days out from Boston, the *Thaddeus* came to anchor abreast the "large heathen village" of Kilua, where a multitude of "shouting and almost naked natives," including the King and Queens, were playing on the beach and sporting in the surf. A bright and pleasing spectacle, we would think: but to the missionaries it merely "exhibited the appalling darkness of the land which we had come to enlighten." Later in the day, the royal family was entertained at dinner on the brig's quarter-deck. King Liholiho, dressed in a feather wreath, a string of beads and a loin-cloth, made his first acquaintance with white women; and George Tamoree, a graceless native member of the missionary contingent, furnished music for the meal on an orthodox bass viol.<sup>2</sup>

\* Printed by permission from the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mr. Samuel Elliot Morison presented the paper to the October, 1920, meeting of the Society. The footnotes are by Mr. Morison.

1 Boston *Recorder*, October 25 and 30, 1819, pp. 175, 179. The *Thaddeus* was 85½ feet long, 24½ feet beam and of 241 tons burthen

2 Hiram Bingham, *A residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (1849), 69, 85.

Thus began the first Christian mission<sup>3</sup> in Hawaii, the centenary of which is being celebrated this year. 1820 is to Hawaii what 1620 is to New England. Yet we must not forget the precursors to the Pilgrims. Here, as in New France, New Spain and New England, the trader had preceded the missionary. For a generation previous to 1820 the scorbutic, stormtossed seamen of New England had found rest, healing and even profit in these Islands of the Blest.

When independence closed our colonial trade routes within the British empire, the merchantmen and whalers of New England swarmed around the Horn, in search of new markets and sources of supply. The opening of the China trade was the first and most spectacular result of this enterprise; the establishment of trading relations with Hawaii followed shortly. Years before the westward land movement gathered momentum, the energies of seafaring New England found their natural outlet, along their traditional pathway, in the Pacific Ocean.

Probably the first American vessel to touch at Hawaii was the famous *Columbia* of Boston, Capt. Robert Gray, on August 24, 1789, in the course of her first voyage around the world. She remained twenty-four days at the Islands, salted down five puncheons of pork, and sailed with one hundred and fifty live hogs on deck.<sup>4</sup> A young native called Attoo, who shipped there as ordinary seaman, attracted much attention at Boston, on the *Columbia's* return, by his gorgeous feather cloak and helmet. Attoo was the first of several young Hawaiians who, arriving in New England as seamen on merchant vessels, influenced the American Board of Foreign Missions to found the Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut, which was the origin of the famous mission of 1819-20. Other Kanakas—as they were called this early—did not reach so pious a destination. A native boy whom Capt. Amasa Delano shipped from Hawaii in 1801, performed on the Boston stage in the "Tragedy of Captain Cook," "and was much admired by the audience and the publick in general."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Catholic chaplain of the Royal French corvette *L'Uranie*, which put in at Hawaii for a few days in August, 1819, baptized a few natives; but I suppose this would hardly constitute a mission. James Jackson Jarvis, *History of the Hawaiian Islands* (1843), 216.

<sup>4</sup> Ship *Columbia* MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society, f. 18; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, August 11, 1790. Possibly the snow *Eleanor* or *Elenora* of New York, Captain Metcalf, touched at Hawaii before the *Columbia*, but I think not. (J. J. Jarvis, *op. cit.* 147, says she came in the "autumn"; Hiram Bingham, *op. cit.* 39, says "near the close" of 1789.) Captain Metcalf stirred up a hornet's nest by his high-handed dealings with the natives, who in revenge, killed his son, master of the *Fair American*. James F. Hunnewell, *Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands*, 15, is obviously in error when he states that "in 1790 . . . the first American ship, *Eleanor* . . . visited the Islands."

<sup>5</sup> Amasa Delano, *Voyages* (Boston, 1817), 398.

The Boston traders who followed the *Columbia* to the Northwest Coast and Canton, found "The Islands," as they called the Hawaiian group, an ideal place to procure fresh provisions, in the course of their three-year voyages. Capt. Joseph Ingraham stopped there in the *Hope*, of Boston, in May, 1792.<sup>6</sup> Five months later, Captain Gray, fresh from his discovery of the Columbia River, "Made the Isle of Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands," writes John Boit, Jr., the seventeen-year-old fifth mate of this famous vessel.

In his "Remarks on the Ship *Columbia's* Voyage"<sup>7</sup> for October 30, he says:

30. Hove to, for some Canoes, and purchased 11 Hogs, from the Natives, and plenty of vegetables, such as Sweet Potatoes, Yams, tarro etc. . . . The men were fine stately looking fellows, and the Women quite handsome. They were all in a state of Nature, except a small covering round the middle. Not many of the *Columbia's* Crew prov'd to be *Josephs*. Run along very near the Isles, and hove to off Karakakoa Bay. . . .

31. Stood around the Island and haul'd into Toaj yah yah bay, and hove to. Vast *many* canoes sailing in company with us. The shore made a delightful appearance, and appeared in the highest state of cultivation. Many canoes along side, containing beautiful *Women*. Plenty of Hogs and fowls, together with most of the Tropical fruits in abundance; great quantities of Water, and Musk, *Mellons*, Sugar Cane, Bread fruit, and salt was brought for sale. The price of a large Hog was from 5 to 10 spikes—smaller ones in proportion. 6 Dunghill fowls for an Iron Chizzle, and fruit cheaper still. . . .

*November* 3. Bore off and made all sail for the Coast of China, and soon lost sight of these beautiful Isles, the Inhabitants of which appear'd to me to be the happiest people in the world. Indeed there was something in them so frank and chearful that you cou'd not help feeling prepossessed in their favour.

Just three years later, on October 12, 1795, the same young man, commanding the sloop *Union* in a voyage around the world, sighted "Owhyhee" bearing W. by S. thirty leagues.

Oct. 13th. Brisk breezes and flying clouds with distant thunder. At 6 p. m. tack'd off shore. Many large fires in the land. The extremes of the Isle from W B N to S E B S, 3 or 4 leagues from

<sup>6</sup> *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. 6 (January, 1920).

<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings*, LIII. 261.

nearest shore. Midnight pleasant. At daylight we were visited by plenty of Canoes fill'd with natives—they brought a great quantity of Hogs and Fruits which they readily parted with, in exchange for Nails & Iron Hoops. The females were quite *amorous*.

Oct. 14th. Pleasant agreeable weather. laying off and on, the N E point of Owhyhee. Vast many canoes, with natives along side, with abundance of good things. Employ'd through the day trafficking. They appear'd all as happy as Princes.<sup>8</sup>

The next day, John Boit was visited by an Englishman, John Young, formerly boatswain of the New York snow *Eleanor*, who had lived at Hawaii for seven years. Young filled him up with so many tales of native treachery toward visiting traders that Captain Boit's opinions of the Hawaiians were modified. "Small merchantment have no business to venture themselves there," he concludes. "I hold them among the worst of savages, for if they had that savage and ferocious appearance so strongly pictured on the face of the N. W. Indians they would not be so likely to deceive Europeans who by trusting too much to appearances have been artfully murder'd."

It did not take long for the Northwest Coast fur traders to discover at Hawaii a new medium for the Canton market. That market was, of course, the prime object of our Northwest fur trade. China took nothing that the United States produced; hence Boston traders, in order to obtain the wherewithal to purchase teas and silks at Canton, spent eighteen months or more of each China voyage collecting a cargo of sea-otter skins, highly esteemed by the mandarins. Salem traders, in the same quest for the wealth of the Indies, resorted to various South Sea Islands for edible birds' nests, and beche de mer or trepang, a variety of sea-cucumber that tickled the mandarin palate. Captain Kendrick (who originally commanded the *Columbia* but remained in Pacific waters in her consort, the sloop *Lady Washington*), discovered about the year 1791<sup>9</sup> that Hawaii produced sandalwood, an article in great demand at Canton. Captain Vancouver found on the Island of Kauai, in March, 1792, an Englishman, a Welshman and an Irishman whom Kendrick had left there the previous October, to collect pearls and sandalwood against his return.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> John Boit, Jr., "Remarks on Sloop Union's Voyage Round the Globe." MS. Mass. Hist. Soc.

<sup>9</sup> Amasa Delano states (*Voyages*, 1817, 399) that he saw a cargo of Hawaiian sandalwood at Canton in 1790, but it was of an inferior quality and had no sale.

<sup>10</sup> Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Around the World* (London, 1798), I. 172-5, 188-9. The men told Vancouver that the sandalwood was destined for India, a statement due either to ignorance or desire to deceive.

Presumably the produce of their labor was marketed; but not long afterward Captain Kendrick was killed as an accidental result of his intimate interest in Hawaiian affairs. He and his crew helped the chief of Oahu defeat the chief of Kauai at the Battle of Kalauao, in December, 1794. Lying in Honolulu harbor with him was the English trading vessel *Jackal*, Captain Brown, the crew of which had also taken part in the battle. To celebrate their victory, Captain Kendrick hoisted his ensign on the *Lady Washington* and fired a federal salute, to which the *Jackal* replied. Captain Brown ordered several of his guns unshotted for the purpose, but by mistake the gunner fired one of those that was still charged with round and grape. A ball penetrated the *Lady Washington's* cabin and killed her commander, one of the ablest of our pioneer shipmasters in the Pacific.<sup>11</sup>

Practically every vessel that visited the North Pacific in the closing years of the 18th century stopped at Hawaii for refreshment and recreation;<sup>12</sup> but it was not until the opening years of the 19th that the sandalwood business became a recognized branch of trade. The imports at Canton of that fragrant commodity in American vessels rose from 900 piculs (of 133½ pounds each) in 1804-05 to 19,036 piculs in 1811-12.<sup>13</sup> Sandalwood, geography, and fresh provisions made the Islands a vital link in a closely articulated trade route between Boston, the Northwest Coast, and Canton.

A typical voyage is that of the ship *Pearl*, Capt. John Suter, owned by James & Thomas Lamb, James & Thomas H. Perkins, and Russell Sturgis, all of Boston. She sailed thence on July 23, 1807. On January 13, 1808, she anchored at the "Sandwich Islands," and procured fresh provisions. The next twenty months, from February, 1808, to October, 1809, were spent along the Northwest coast procuring beaver and seaotter skins. Thence to the Islands, stopping a few days in late October, and taking on provisions and wood. Arrived at Whampoa (the foreign port of Canton), December 5. Sailed March 11, 1810, in company with Theodore Lyman's ship *Vancouver*, Captain Whittemore; the two vessels sailing up Boston harbor almost abreast on August 4, 1810.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> John Boit, Jr., *op. cit.* As Boit received this account from John Young, within a year of the occurrence and wrote it down immediately, it ought to settle the controversy over the date and manner of Kendrick's death. *E. g.*, H. H. Bancroft, *Pacific States*, XXII, 297-7, and picturesquely garbled version in Bulfinch, *Oregon and Eldorado*, 7.

<sup>12</sup> *E. g.*, the visit in 1801 of Richard J. Cleveland of Salem, described in his *Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises* (1842), and those of Amasa Delano, described in his *Voyages* (1817), chap. XXI. Charles Derby of Salem, who died when in command of the ship *Caroline* of Boston, was buried at Oahu in 1802.

<sup>13</sup> Table in Gutzlaff, *Sketch of Chinese History* (1834), II, appendix iv.

<sup>14</sup> Horatio A. Lamb, *Notes on Trade with the Northwest Coast* (ms., Harvard College Library), 45-47.

One of the earliest white residents of the Islands was George McClay, a Yankee ship-carpenter who drifted into Honolulu sometime between 1793 and 1806. Capt. Amasa Delano of Duxbury, on whose ship he had formerly sailed, found him at the Islands in 1806 with a well-established boat-building business. He had built twenty small vessels, and a few as large as fifty tons burthen.<sup>15</sup>

Late in the year 1811 the ship *Albatross*, owned by the Winship brothers of Boston and Brighton, and commanded by one of them, Captain Nathan, put in at Honolulu.

The object of this protracted voyage (the *Albatross* left Boston in July, 1809,) was to found a fur-trading establishment on the Columbia River. The attempt failed, but Captain Winship then tried fur-trading along the California coast, with such success that water-casks had to be broken up, and the hemp cables coiled on deck, to make room for all the sealskins he obtained. Yet somehow or other, room was found on board at Honolulu to entertain King Kamehameha I., royal family and suites over night; and to take on a load of sandal-wood. At the Island, Captain Winship was joined by the ship *O'Cain*, owned by his family and commanded by his brother, Jonathan Winship, Jr., and the ship *Isabella*, owned by Bordman & Pope of Boston, and commanded by Capt. William Heath Davis. All three vessels sailed from Honolulu on January 1, 1812, for Canton, where they disposed of their skins and sandalwood. Returning to the Islands six months later, the three shipmasters made the following contract with the King:

Articles of agreement indented, made and concluded this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, by and between Tamaahmaah, King of the Sandwich Islands, of the one part, and Nathan Winship, Wm. Heath Davis, and Jonathan Winship, Jr., native citizens of the United States of America, on the other part, Witnesseth:

That the said Tamaahmaah, for the consideration hereafter mentioned and expressed, doth hereby promise, covenant and agree to and with the said Nathan Winship, William Heath Davis, and Jonathan Winship, Jr., and each and every of them, and each and every of their executors, administrators and assigns, that he will collect, or cause to be collected for them and them only, a supply of sandal-wood and cotton of the best qualities which his Islands produce; and he doth hereby give and grant unto the said Nathan Winship, William Heath Davis and Jonathan Winship, Jr., their executors,

<sup>15</sup> Delano, *Voyages*, 395.

administrators and assigns, the sole right and privilege of exporting sandalwood and cotton from his islands for the term of ten years and will not on any account or in any manner whatever dispose of any sandalwood or cotton to any other person or persons whomsoever, or suffer any other adventurer, or adventurers, to export any sandal wood or cotton from any of these Islands under his control, during the aforesaid term of ten years. In consideration whereof, the said Nathan Winship, William Heath Davis and Jonathan Winship, Jr., do hereby for themselves, their executors, administrators and assigns covenant, promise and agree well and truly to pay or cause to be paid, unto the said Tamaahmaah, his successors or assigns, one-fourth part of the net sales of all the sandalwood and cotton which they may export from the Islands belonging to Tamaahmaah, during the aforesaid term of ten years, and to make return in specie or such productions and manufactures of China as the said Tamaahmaah, his successors or assigns may think proper to order. In testimony whereof, they have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals, on this said twelfth day of July, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed, sealed and delivered, in presence of Francis de Paulmann, William Summer.

Tamaahmaah, his O mark (Seal)	
William Heath Davis,	"
Nathan Winship,	"
Jonathan Winship, Jr.,	"

Only one sandalwood cargo, it seems, was shipped to Canton under this contract. By the time the partners returned to Honolulu, news had arrived of our declaration of war on Great Britain. Before the king would furnish another cargo, he insisted on receiving his share first. The Winships' agent, John Perkins Cushing (head of Perkins & Co. at Canton), shipped the king under neutral colors a large consignment of specie and China goods that he realized from sale of the sandalwood, but the vessel was delayed so long that the king began to doubt the Winships' good faith.

John Young, now agent for a British rival of Perkins & Co., fanned his suspicions. When the neutral ship finally arrived, the Winship brothers arranged with her captain to deliver the goods to Kamehameha I but to hold the specie on board as security for the monarch's fulfilling his contract. In the event that a British war-



ship appeared, they instructed the captain to deliver the specie to the king rather than risk its capture as American property.

A royal princess of Hawaii, overhearing the conversation at which this disposal of the specie was arranged, played a regular Yankee trick on the Yankee traders. The Islanders kept a lookout on Diamond Head, whence the character, size and nationality of approaching vessels are signalled by human semaphores. The Princess arranged for a false alarm of a big British man-of-war. By the time this rumor was disproved, King Kamehameha had the silver in his possession, and snapped his fingers at the Winships. According to one account, a British sloop-of-war later appearing in the harbor, persuaded him definitely to repudiate the contract. British interference induced Tamoree, the King of Kauai, to repudiate a similar contract with Winship, Winship and Davis.<sup>16</sup>

The members of this company continued nevertheless to trade with Hawaii for some years. Captain Davis married there the daughter of Oliver Homes, another pioneer Massachusetts shipmaster.<sup>17</sup> One of the Winships was residing at Honolulu when the missionaries landed, on April 19, 1820, and placed his house at their disposal. Two other American residents made the same offer; Captain Pigot of New York invited them to tea the first evening ashore, and Charles Carey of Chelsea, Massachusetts, master of the ship *Levant*, attended their first communion service on Hawaiian soil.<sup>18</sup>

After the war, Boston's trading relations with Hawaii were resumed. King Kamehameha I, who now controlled the entire group of islands, put the sandalwood traffic under some restraint. During the remainder of his reign, the imports of that commodity at Canton did not reach their pre-war figures.<sup>19</sup> More Boston firms were entering the business; and in 1820 the United States government appointed a Bostonian consular agent at Honolulu.

In 1816 James Hunnewell (1794-1869) of Charlestown embarked at Boston in the hermaphrodite brig *Bordeaux Packet*, 180 tons,

16 This account of the Winship episode is largely from an anonymous MS. in the Bancroft Collection, Berkeley, California, entitled "Solid men of Boston in the Northwest," a copy of which was kindly furnished by the Bancroft Library. This MS. was apparently prepared about the time of the Civil War by someone who knew the Winships well, and who had access to their records. It makes extensive quotations from the journal of the *Albatross's* voyage, kept by Captain Nathan Winship's clerk, John A. Gale of Boston, who subsequently became the pioneer in the trade in hides between Boston and California. On the same subject see *Niles' Register*, XVIII, 418 (August 12, 1820); *Papers of Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 8, 20; C. Davis in *North American Review*, III, 51 (1816).

17 H. H. Bancroft, *Pacific States*, XIX, 776. Their son William H. Davis, Jr., born at Honolulu in 1822, became a California pioneer, and author of *Sixty Years in California*.

18 Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, 95-99.

19 Gutzlaff, *op. cit.* For 1817-18 the imports were 15,825 piculs of sandalwood at Canton, with an annual falling off of 6,005 piculs in 1820-21.

Capt. Andrew Blanchard of Medford, for San Francisco. After stopping at the Islands for provisions early in 1817, she proceeded to the coast of Upper and Lower California. Returning to Oahu, the brig was sold to King Kamehameha I, and paid for in sandalwood, which was sent to Canton on another vessel. Mr. Hunnewell remained at Honolulu to "dispose of the balance of the California cargo" (probably live horses and cattle), and of the goods brought from Boston. This was the origin of a mercantile firm still in existence at Honolulu under the name of Brewer & Company.<sup>20</sup>

It was during the period from 1810 to 1825 that the sandalwood trade was at its height. This wood was in great demand for the Canton market, where it was sold for incense and for the manufacture of fancy articles. It was purchased by the picul of 133 1-3 pounds, the price varying from \$8 to \$10 for the picul. While it lasted this wood was a mine of wealth to the king and chiefs, by means of which they were enabled to buy guns and ammunition, liquor, boats, and schooners, as well as silks and other Chinese goods, for which they paid exorbitant prices. This trade greatly increased the oppression of the common people, multitudes of whom were obliged to remain for months at a time in the mountains searching for the trees, felling them, and bringing them on their backs to the royal storehouses.<sup>21</sup>

A new era opened in 1820 with the arrival of the first missionaries, the first whalers, and the opening of a new reign. It was the missionaries who brought Hawaii in touch with a better side of New England civilization than that represented by the trading vessels and their crews.<sup>22</sup> But without the trader, the missionary would not have come. The commercial relations between Massachusetts and Hawaii form the solid background of American expansion in the Pacific, the fundamental influence that worked steadily toward the annexation of 1898.

A second event which made the year 1820 memorable in Hawaiian economic history, was the arrival of the first Massachusetts whaling vessel—the ship *Maro* of Nantucket, Capt. Joseph Allen.<sup>23</sup>

20 James Hunnewell, *Journal of the Voyage of the "Missionary Packet," Boston to Honolulu, 1826*. Charlestown, 1880. This vessel, a leaky and crank little schooner built at Salem for the missionaries' use among the Islands, was 49 feet long, 13 wide, and registered just under 40 tons. The voyage took nine months. Charles Brewer, who subsequently gave his name to this firm, first saw Honolulu as ordinary seaman on Josiah Marshall's ship *Paragon*, in 1823. Charles Brewer, *Reminiscences* (1889), 20.

21 W. D. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (1892), 156.

22 "The coming of the Missionaries was the real beginning of civilization in the Islands." William R. Castle, Jr., *Hawaii Past and Present* (1913), 89. In the following pages Mr. Castle gives a judicious estimate of the comparative influence of missionaries and traders.

23 H. Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, 134.

Nantucket whalers had rounded the Horn as early as 1791, but until this year their activities had been confined mainly to the South Pacific. Captain Allen's discovery of the Japanese whaling grounds, made Hawaii as essential to whalers as to China traders. The letters below indicate how rapidly their number increased, and the consequent effect on the cost of living.<sup>24</sup> Our illustration of Honolulu in 1821, from the collection of Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Jr., was undoubtedly made by an officer of the whaler *Russell* of New Bedford, shown in the foreground.

In 1820 the sandalwood trade entered its last phase. Kamehameha I's successor, Liholiho, a drunken and weak-minded prince, discarded the conservation policy of his father. The traders vied with one another in arousing new royal desires, which fresh levies of sandalwood on the unfortunate subjects alone could satisfy. Hence John C. Jones's keen desire to sell fast vessels, billiard tables, and steamboats to the King. As a result Liholiho and the royal family exploited their subjects ruthlessly and the forests recklessly. Sandalwood imports in American vessels at Canton surpassed 21,000 piculs annually in the years 1821-23.<sup>25</sup> It became scarce and high at Hawaii, but a drug in the Canton market; and "the population withered before the curse which the avarice of their chiefs, and the dissipation of their ruler, brought upon them."<sup>27</sup>

At the same time, the native market for American goods was rapidly increasing, owing to the improved standards of living introduced by the missionaries. The New England whalers, so much complained of by the China traders, brought them new business by creating a local market for ships' stores, chandlery, etc.; and by giving them return freights of oil and whalebone.<sup>28</sup> About 1829 the Islands were visited annually by nineteen American vessels engaged in the Northwest fur, South American, China and Manila trades, and by one hundred whalers.<sup>29</sup> By 1840, the value of native supplies provided to vessels was twice that of the sandalwood exported,

24 H. B. Forbes, in his *Ships of the Past*, 115, describes how he was pulled out of bed at Honolulu by a party of rollicking whalers in 1826, put in a handcart and dragged about town. The party paid a visit to Capt. James Hunnewell, who had first brought the little *Missionary Packet* around the Horn for the mission, with a cargo of rum for his own store. Captain Hunnewell was forced to treat the crowd, but they pronounced the rum so vile that he was forced to swallow some of it himself before they would let him go!

25 Known after his death as Kamehameha II.

26 Gutzlaff, *op. cit.*

27 James Jackson Jarvis, in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, IX, 113, C. S. Stewart, *Private Journal . . . . . and Residence in the Sandwich Islands* (1828), 124-25.

William H. Bordman, Jr., writes Capt. Seth Barker of the Brig *Smyrna*, then engaged in the fur trade, on June 7, 1831: "We hear today of sales of sandal wood in Canton leaving more than a total loss. Some sent down on Marshalls account the consignees refused to receive & pay the freight. Dont touch it on any account, even if given you." MS. Bordman letter book, Harvard College Library, 90.

28 Papers of the Hunnewell's ship *Tsar*, Harvard Western History Collection.

29 Letters of J. C. Jones, Jr., Oct. 30, 1829, in Charles S. Stewart, *A visit to the South Seas in the U. S. S. Vincennes* (London 1833), 365.

the sugar industry was established, and in five years the Islands had consumed over a million dollars' worth of American goods.<sup>30</sup> A smuggling trade between Hawaii and California began at least as early as 1804.<sup>31</sup> During the Mexican period this increased, and fell largely into the hands of the American firms at Honolulu.<sup>32</sup> The same firm also engaged in seal-skinning on Guadelupe Island, and traded with Okhotsk and Petropavlovsk in Siberia.<sup>33</sup> The discovery of gold in California still further increased the importance of Hawaii as an ocean emporium.

The letters printed below belong to this period. They are selected from the out-letter book of Bryant & Sturgis, and the in-letter book of Marshall & Wildes, prominent Boston merchants engaged in the Northwest Coast, California, Hawaiian Islands, and Canton trade.<sup>34</sup> The Bryant & Sturgis letters are undoubtedly written by the senior member of the firm, Capt. Bill Sturgis, who began his career at the age of sixteen as foremost hand on the ship *Eliza*, outward bound for the Northwest Coast and China, in 1798. After rising to master, and commanding several successful voyages, Captain Sturgis in 1811 formed with John Bryant of Boston a partnership which traded with many ports of the world.<sup>35</sup> This firm acquired a strong position in the sandalwood trade by purchasing the famous yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, and sending her out under Capt. John Suter, a veteran "Nor'westman."<sup>36</sup>

Josiah Marshall (1773-1841) was a native of Billerica, Massachusetts, who built up a mercantile and shipping business in Boston.<sup>37</sup> With him was associated, in a quarter interest, Capt. Dixey

30 *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, IX. 117-19.

31 Delano, *Voyages*, 397.

32 Marshall MSS. and Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*.

33 Charles Brewer, *Reminiscences*, 35-44.

34 These letter books are among the MSS. collected for the Harvard Commission on Western History by Mr. Thomas P. Martin.

The Bryant and Sturgis MSS were donated by a descendant of John Bryant. Some in-letters of this firm are in the Hooper-Sturgis MSS. in our cabinet, but none from the Pacific for this period. The Marshall MSS. were deposited by Mrs. John H. Morison (Emily Marshall Elliot), a great-granddaughter of Josiah Marshall. The out-letter books for this firm have disappeared. The value of such material for the history of American commerce and expansion is self evident. Hundreds if not thousands of even more valuable commercial MSS. are today lying neglected in offices and garrets, and every year a part of their precious remnant is lost through indifference and ignorance. It is hoped that the owners of such material, who may not wish to donate it outright will for the sake of its preservation place it in some safe repository. The Massachusetts Historical Society and the Harvard College Library are always glad to store historical MSS. free of charge.

35 See his Memoir, by C. G. Loring, in *Proceedings*, VII. 420.

36 For John Suter (1781-1852), see my *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (1921).

37 Very little is known of Josiah Marshall. His rise from Cambridge Street to Franklin Place, and from "grocer" through "W. I. goods" to "merchant," may be traced in the Boston directories. Mr. Marshall was perhaps more famous for his beautiful daughters than for his wealth. A portrait, now in the possession of his descendant, John Carter Brown Woods, of Providence, is reproduced in Frank B. Kingsbury, *Marshall Family Record* (Keene, N. H., 1913), 9. This work is in error in stating that one of Marshall's vessels took the first missionaries to Hawaii. The *Thaddeus* did not belong to Marshall. Dixey Wildes commanded the Lyman's ship *Atahualpa* in 1800, and Marshall's ship *Paragon* for several years before 1820. He was elected president of the Boston Marine Society.

Wildes, who had made several voyages to Canton and Hawaii since 1800 in command of various vessels. The letters to this firm are mostly from its agents in Honolulu, John Coffin Jones, Jr., who had already visited the Islands, and returned on one of Marshall's smaller vessels in 1820, bearing a federal commission as "agent for commerce and seamen."<sup>38</sup> Mr. Jones evidently had a mercantile establishment of his own at Honolulu, besides acting as agent. His disposition was so unsteady and irascible that Marshall first and last had a good deal of trouble with him. His professional pealously of Capt. John Suter will be noted in his correspondence. Toward the missionaries' efforts to uplift the Hawaiians, Mr. Jones expresses the traditional trader's antagonism.<sup>39</sup> The picturesque, if promiscuous, royal personages of Hawaii interest him only as middlemen for sandalwood. But the letters do relate, as no description can, the importance of Hawaii in the Canton and Northwest Coast trade. Honolulu was the headquarters for a business that reached out to Puget Sound for furs, to the California coast for hides, and to Canton for teas and silks and the other Oriental luxuries, the distribution of which contributed greatly to the wealth of Boston during the early nineteenth century.

As early as 1823 there were four mercantile houses in the Islands: Hunnewell's, Jones's, "Nor'west John," DeWolf's (from Bristol, R. I.) and another from New York.<sup>40</sup> The little community of respectable traders and missionaries, with a disreputable fringe of deserters from merchantment and whalers, was so predominantly Bostonian that "Boston" acquired the same connotation in Hawaii as along the Northwest Coast. It stood for the whole United States.<sup>41</sup> Hawaii had, in fact, become an outpost of New England. The foreign settlement at Honolulu, with its frame houses shipped around the Horn, haircloth furniture, orthodox meeting house built of coral blocks, and New England Sabbath, was as Yankee as a suburb of Boston.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> J. M. Callahan, in *John Hopkins Studies*, XIX, 39, n. John Coffin Jones, Jr., was baptized by the minister of Brattle Street Church, Boston, on June 26, 1796. His father (1750-1829), H. C. 1768, was a well-known Boston Federalist, owner of much real estate in the city and state, and partner of Thomas Lee in mercantile and shipping business. J. C. Jones, Jr., remained U. S. commercial agent at Honolulu until 1837, became a shipowner on his own account, took an active part in the early California trade, and married a native Californian, who was still living in 1885. H. H. Bancroft, *Pacific States*, XXI, 694. The Boston Athenaeum has a small oil portrait by a Chinese artist of "Tammahammaha" (Kamchameha I), presented by J. C. Jones, Jr., in 1818. There is an engraving of it in J. J. Jarvis, *History*, 206.

<sup>39</sup> While writing this paper, I read in John Dewey's article, "The New Leaven in Chinese Politics" in *Asia* of April, 1920, p. 271, "Many western business men especially deplore the attempts of missionaries to introduce new ideas." The Rev. Hiram Bingham pays his respects to Mr. Jones in his *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, 137.

<sup>40</sup> C. S. Stewart, *Journal*, 154.

<sup>41</sup> Jarvis (*op. cit.* 194) states that the Islanders spoke of Americans generally as Bostonians as early as 1804.

<sup>42</sup> See Francis Warriner, *Cruise of the U. S. Frigate Potomac* (1835), 224.

The Boston traders brought back something more than wealth. Their acquisitions in the way of feather garments; native carving, tapa cloth, and heathen idols, founded the rich Hawaiian ethnological collections at Cambridge and Salem. Hard, practical, unsentimental men that they were, yet the virgin charms of those enchanting islands, the eternal summer, the white surf-rimmed beaches, the verdure-clad mountains, rising directly from the sea into cloudland, and the kindly hospitable natives made an impression so deep and lasting as to draw their descendants thither with irresistible force, this centennial year. May the next century draw even closer the bonds that have long existed between Boston and Hawaii.

S. E. MORRISON.

The following documents were submitted with the above paper:

BYRANT AND STURGIS TO JOHN SUTER

Boston, June 20, 1820

SIR,—We have conversed with you so fully on the subject of the present voyage, that we should not think it necessary to be very particular in our instructions were it not for the possibility that some accident may deprive us of your services in which unfortunate event it would be necessary your successor should be apprised of our general plan—This expedition is to consist of *three vessels* all of them to be in some measure under your direction. The *Cleopatra Barge* of which you have the immediate command, is intended to be sold at the Sandwich Islands. She will be followed in a few days by the brig *Lascar* at present commanded by Mr. Harris, and it is our intention to send, either immediately or some months hence, a large ship for the purpose of carrying to Canton the proceeds of the *Barge* in Sandal wood. Should you succeed in selling the *Barge* [you] are to leave some prudent and trusty person to collect the wood which you may agree to receive for her and go yourself on board the *Lascar* to the North west coast where you will remain as long as you think proper and then resign the command of her to Mr. Harris or some proper Person, take the skins you have collected and proceed to Canton and Home. Should you not be able to sell the *Barge* at the Islands on arrival, you will then prepare her for the coast and take both Her and the *Lascar* under your direction remaining on board of whichever of them you please. We

<sup>43</sup> Byrant & Sturgis MSS. These are the general instructions for an expedition consisting of brigs *Becket* and *Lascar*, ships *Tartar* and *Mentor*, and the *Barge*. Captain Suter's log of the voyage out is in the Essex Institute, and a fragment of his journal at the Islands is in the Boston Marine Museum.

have very little doubt however but that you will be able to make a favorable sale of the *Barge* at the Islands and in this case you must endeavor to make your agreement with the King in the clearest manner, stating how many piculs of wood you are to receive, what the quality is to be and where it is to be delivered to your Agent. Should you leave the Islands before the Ship gets out you must agree with the King to put the wood on board her and direct your agent accordingly. Your contract with the King ought to be made in the clearest and most particular manner *in writing* and signed by proper witnesses, leaving one copy with your agent and taking one with yourself. If a Ship is sent soon after you it may be practicable to make some arrangement for her to carry down your own wood and return for a freight or carry some part of a cargo for the King the first time and agree to bring him out the proceeds in Canton goods on conditions of receiving a quantity of wood on your return equal to what you carried down for the King. It would not be best to make such an arrangement unless you was to be well paid for it because a good Freight might be offered in Canton for the Ship to go to Europe or come home. If you find it impossible to sell the *Barge* at the Islands, either going out, or after being one season on the coast, it may be best to send down your collection of Furs in the Ship, if there, or in the *Mentor*, or some other vessel and go yourself with the *Barge* to Lima or some part of the Spanish coast and there dispose of her, or keep on the North west coast as long as there was trade enough for her and the *Lascar*. If when you get to the Islands going out you find such great changes as induce you to think there is little chance of selling her, you must write us by every opportunity, and we will send out more cargo to keep her and the *Lascar* employed on the N. W. Coast, and endeavor to have it out there in time. You will probably get to the Islands in time to write us by the *Ann* or *Volunteer*, or by some other vessel. In this case write us very particularly, say what your prospect is, what articles are in demand and give us all the information in your power, inclose these letters to James P. Surgis & Co., *unsealed* and ask them to have them copied and send us one by every vessel from Canton, that we may be sure to get them early and give the same orders to your agent. We must leave to your judgment at what price to sell the vessel. You cannot calculate on more than Seven Dollars pr Pickel for Sandal Wood of good quali-

<sup>44</sup> One of the early Boston firms at Canton, later consolidated in Russell & Co. James Perkins Sturgis (1791-1851) was one of the sixteen children of Russell Sturgis (1750-1826), who married Elizabeth, sister of Thomas Handasyd Perkins. He lived at Canton twenty-five, and Macao eighteen years, and was at one time United States Consul at Canton.

ty. The price you may be induced to take for her may depend in some measure on the prospect on the coast, but we much prefer her being sold if it can be done on good terms, as 'tis possible we may send out some small vessel to be a tender to the *Lascar* if we can meet with one on good terms. We agree to allow you as full compensation for your services Eight pr. cent on the nett proceeds in America of all property collected by you in any of these vessels, Also the same on any Freight which you may obtain, Wages pr shipping paper. Should you find it necessary to make any sacrifice of your own interest for the good of the Voy [age] we will make you such remuneration as any impartial Person shall say is fair and equitable. We have agreed with Mr. Harris to give him one pr cent commission as mate of the *Lascar* and six pr cent when he becomes master. If you find it necessary to take both vessels on the coast you will probably keep one in charge of Mr. Harris; if so, he will expect some additional pay beyond the one pr. ct. You must agree with him what his additional pay shall be while you remain and as you will receive your 8 pr cent on the whole collection made while you remain on the coast you must be charged with whatever is paid Mr. Harris beyond the 1 %. All property sent to Canton you will consign to James P. Sturgis & Co. Mr. Butler is to have \$25 pr. mo. till you leave to come home. He is then to be first mate of the *Lascar*, and have \$20 and 1 %. Whenever you leave the Pacific Ocean you will endeavor to leave the *Lascar* with the best officers and crew. All whom you discharge abroad you will pay off on the spot if you can, if not you must give them orders on us, taking care to settle and keep copies of their accounts and take receipts in full. If you have any troublesome men or useless officers get rid of them soon as possible. If you discharge men abroad and pay them from the Cargo you shall receive your commission on the amount. As your interest in this Voyage is the same as our own we leave you at liberty to manage with the property under your charge in such ways as you may think for interest of all concerned. We wish you to be particular and keep an accurate account of all property that is transferred from one vessel to the other as Capt. Porter will be an owner in the *Lascar* and not in the others. We will thank you to embrace every opportunity of writing and give us all information that may be useful. Whenever you supply the officers or crew with any article let them know the price at the time. You will converse freely with your officers during the passage and advise them how to proceed if any accident hap-



pens to you. Wishing you a pleasant and prosperous Voy. and safe return. We agree to allow you privilege from Canton in the ship free of expense. We are your Friends.

Bryant & Sturgis

June 20, 1820. I acknowledge the foregoing to be a copy of the orders I have rec'd for my government in the Brig *Cleopatra Barge* and agree to conform to the same to the best of my judgment.

John Suter

BRYANT & STURGIS TO JAMES HARRIS

Boston, July 17, 1820.

Sir,—You being appointed to take charge of the Brig *Lascar* for the outward passage and it being the first time you have been placed in so responsible a situation, we think it proper to give you directions for the future part of the Voyage. you will shape your course so as to bring you to about the longitude of  $32^{\circ}$  or  $34^{\circ}$  when in Latitude of  $30^{\circ}$ . Here you may expect to take the N. E. trades. Then steer so as pass about 2 or 3 degrees to the Westward of the Cape de Verd Islands and endeavor to cross the Line any where between Longitude of  $23^{\circ}$  &  $29^{\circ}$ . You will lose the N. E. Trade in Latitude  $8^{\circ}$  or  $10^{\circ}$  North and have light southerly winds, calms and squalls till you get to about  $2^{\circ}$  north, when you will probably find the wind incline to SSE and round to SE. You need not be afraid of falling to leeward on the Brazil coast if you cross the line any where to the Eastward of Longitude  $30^{\circ}$ , but if you get to the Eastward of  $25^{\circ}$  you will be in danger of long calms. after crossing the line, keep a good full and run along about  $3^{\circ}$  or  $4^{\circ}$  from Cape Rio. *by all means* go to *westward* of the Faulkland Island, pass in sight of the east end of Staten Land (called Cape St. John) and don't be afraid of the land off Cape Good Horn. It is best not to go much if any to Southward of the little Island of Diego Ramirez as the passage is very good and clear between that and Cape Horn. You will find a constant current off the cape, setting to the north East, and the only difficulty is after passing Cape Horn to get a wind that will enable you to make a slant along the Shore to the northward. You had better be on the safe side when approaching the Sandwich Islands and take care to get in their Latitude  $3^{\circ}$  or  $4^{\circ}$  to windward as 'tis much easier to run to leeward than to beat up. . . .

You will employ the crew on the passage in getting her ready for the coast, always remembering that we want every thing done to keep her tight staunch and in good order, but would not waste a

dollar for Show. Be very careful of your Stores and provisions, put the Crew on regular allowance and take care that they have full weight and measure. We earnestly desire you to treat them well, give them good language and good usage and they must be very bad if they make any difficulty. The success of the voyage depends very much on preserving peace and harmony on board and should you find any one particularly troublesome endeavor to get rid of him at the Islands and pay him off.

If the *Barge* is sold at the Islands, Capt. Suter will take on board as many of her Crew as he thinks necessary. Should you not join this vessel at the Islands, you must Ship good Stout natives enough to make your complement twenty-two *all told* on board. Agree to pay them regular wages, Charge them what clothes and what you furnish them and when you return to the Islands pay them the balance of their wages in such trade you have left that they want. We hope you will not bring home more men than you carry out, provided you can discharge them with their consent, as the present crew is quite large enough to go to Canton with. You may furnish the crew with clothing and any other articles of trade, taking care that they do not take up more than is due to them. Charge them one hundred per cent on the Invoice price of clothes, Boots, Shoes and all articles necessary for their comfort, and for any thing else that they take up charge the same price as you are selling it for to the Natives. Always tell them the price when they take the article. Should any one be discharged during the Voyage remember to deduct his advance wages and orders (if any) before paying him off.

Should you go on the coast without Suter you will consult with Porter who is an Owner in your vessel. You will make as large a collection as you can which must be sent off by the *Mentor*, or if She does not come off then send them by some other vessel, agreeing to pay them the usual Freight which is two and an half per cent on the Sales in Canton. Take three Bills Lading for what Furs you send by any vessel. Keep one yourself, send one to James P. Sturgis & Co., Canton, to whom you will consign the Furs, and send the other Bill Lading to us. Be as economical of your Cargo as you can, but endeavor to get your full share of all the Furs on the coast. You are not limited as to time but may stay as long as your Cargo and provisions hold out. If you stay more than two seasons you may send off your Furs at the end of the second season by any vessel that will take them on the usual terms. . . .

## BRYANT &amp; STURGIS TO JOHN SUTER

Boston, July 18, 1820.

We are still of the opinion that it is *very desirable* to sell the Barge immediately. there will be a great advantage in getting our wood to Canton before Wilds gets out there. Marshall has bought a little Schooner which he means to have ready to send out as soon as Wilds arrives from Canton and he expects him every day. Mr. Bryant has gone to N. York to try to find a little vessel to send out to you as a tender, but has not succeeded as yet. If we find one to suit we shall buy her.

There will be a good many vessels sent out. Marshall has the Schooner and his two new Brigs and perhaps some others may be sent, so that there will be more vessels there for sale next winter than they can want or find wood to pay for besides, we shall buy a small vessel and send out if we can find one to our mind and in that case you would have more vessels on the coast than you would know what to do with. we mentioned to you the possibility that you might make a bargain with the King to sell him the *Barge* and take one of his little vessels in part pay that would do for a Tender, but you must use your judgment about this. only endeavor to sell if possible, for we do not think there will ever be a better chance. say to the Missionaries that we shall bring the frame of their House in the *Tartar* free of freight, and as we do so much for them they must aid you if they can. There are several things for the *Lascar* which we shall send in the *Tartar* as the Brig is full. will write again fully by the *Tartar*, and are must truly Your Friends, &c.

Byrant &amp; Sturgis.

## JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO JOSIAH MARSHALL.

[Brig Tamahourelanne]  
Nooeva Bay, April 11th 1821

SIR,—It affords me much satisfaction, tho at this late period; to advise you of our safe arrival at the Island of Nooheva,<sup>45</sup> all well; fortune who sports with the vain wishes and prudence of men has given to us an e[ter]nal proof of it, One hundred and eighty days had elapsed ere we had cast anchor at this Island, we have encountered nothing but adverse winds and rough weather since our departure from Boston. the elements have been at war against us but it is hard to contend with fate. We have repaired the Brig

<sup>45</sup> Nukahiva Island, one of Washington group in the Marquesas, discovered by Captain Joseph Ingraham of Boston in 1791, and the scene of Melville's *Typee*.

and take our departure for Roberts Island on the morrow, where having painted the vessel we shall make the best of our way for Woahoo.<sup>46</sup> When we again write you we trust it will be to advise you of success to our utmost wishes.

All is well nothing new to communicate; Please remember us to our friends and oblige your Obdt. Sert.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

P S. We forward this by an English whale ship bound to the Coast.

I have the pleasure this day of announcing to you, the arrival of the Brig *Inore*, Capt. Grimes, she has just come round from North Bay, nothing new; has experienced heavy weather off the Cape she will proceed with us to Roberts Island.<sup>47</sup>

The *Inore* has lost her long Boat<sup>48</sup>

WILLIAM FRENCH TO JOSIAH MARSHALL

Canton China, June 30. 1821.

DEAR SIR,—Your by the *Archer* came duly to hand, also the box containing two thousand dollars and keg of lamb skins. the skins were entirely ruined by the Worms and will not bring anything.

I am sorry to hear my goods are not sold, though from the small quantity shipped last season I think they cannot sell at a loss. . . . China goods are lower here at present than they have been for a number of years past, large purchase have been made in 18 tale crapes at 5.40 @ 5.50 of good quality and many other goods equally low. I have formed a connection in business here with Mr. Timothy G. Pitman, of Boston, a young man of the first respectability, with a capital of Twenty thousand dollars, all of which he has accumulated in this place within a few years, and has a very liberal share of Commission business. The transient commission business which I have been favored with here, has far exceeded my expectations, which has induced me to make this permanent stand here for

<sup>46</sup> Oahu, the island on which Honolulu is situated.

<sup>47</sup> An old name for another island of the Washington group, first visited in 1792 by the ship *Jefferson* of Boston, Capt Josiah Roberts. Delano, *Voyages*, 28; I. *Collections*, IV. 242, ff.

<sup>48</sup> Charles Brooks' *History of Medford*, pp. 363, 368, states that the brigs *Tama-hourelanne*, 162 tons, and *Jones*, 163 tons, were built by Thatcher Magoun at Medford in 1820 for Josiah Marshall, then taken to pieces and shipped to the Islands aboard the brig *Thaddeus*. These letters prove that both brigs (*Jones* being an evident error for *Inore*) were sailed around the Horn to Hawaii.

<sup>49</sup> William French, who addresses Josiah Marshall as "uncle" in a subsequent letter, must have been a son of William French of Billerica, Massachusetts, who married Marshall's elder sister Rebecca. (*Billerica Vital Records*.) He afterward conducted a mercantile business at Honolulu, and traded by small vessels with California, Mexico, Canton and Siberia. *Sandwich Island Gazette*, Aug 13, 1836, 4; R. B. Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, 92, ff.; Charles Brewer, *Reminiscences*, 35, ff.

the present. We have taken a lease of the Hong formerly built by the Danish East India Compy., on a lease of five years with permission to relinquish it sooner or retain it longer at our pleasure, we have also obtained lease of the China Govt. to build three new Factories, two of which are completed, the foundation laid for the third which will be done in all August. we shall retain only two for our own use, the others (six in number), we are renting out at a very handsome advance on our lease. . . .

It would be money in your hands to pay a commission on your whole business in Canton, if you have an agent here to pay proper attention to the business and take advantage of the market. . . . Mr. Cushing's silk cost him from 10 to 15 pr. ct. less, than those purchased by regular supercargoes who remain here on two & three months. I shall pay particular attention to the commission business myself, and I have no doubt from your friendly letters, but you will assist me all in your power, and also favor me with as much of your business as may be consistent with your Interest. . . .

ELIAH GRIMES TO JOSEPH MARSHALL

Woahoo, July 5th, 1821.

DEAR SIR,—On my arrival I found Capt. Brown anxiously awaiting for me, who had heard of me at Iuan Fernandez, where I was compelled to stop for water, having been nearly six weeks on three pints, owing to a long passage and bad casks, which three of them leaked out. the weather off Cape Horn was very severe so much so that I lost both boats, Camboose house, spars, bulwarks, rose the starboard plank shire about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch, washed two men off deck fortunately got on board again. . . .

On the 25th [April, at the Marquesas], the whale boat was stolen by Charles Avery, John Wilson and the Islander I took from Boston, and took her to the north part of the Island where I had been. on the 30th I went where the boat was in company with the Brig and Ship *Charles*, Capt. Lock, who very politely offered his services. After a few hours detention I obtained the boat by making a few presents. I did not stop for the people as I found it would detain me some time and would be attended with difficulty, I made the best of my way back and landed Mr. Ross at Lewis bay. on the 3d of May bore up for the Sandwich Islands and arrived on the 23d at Woahoo. At present I am not able to inform you what will be done imediatey. The Schooner *Eagle* was at Atooi when I arrived. on her return I found her very much out of order, hove her

out coppered her keel and from light water mark to her bends, Put on a false keel, found the mainmast very rotten in the wake of the partners, fore yards badly sprung which both has been well fished. Fore and main channel we have been obliged to put preventer chains on as the sides were pine, the old bolts had become loose and leaky. she has been caulked outside, the decks half done and will soon be ready for sea. I think you will have reason to regret with me for not putting on board the *Paragon* a California cargo, as I requested before sailing, which the *Eagle* would answer—the only place she is fit along that coast. The N. W. coast has become very dangerous, without a large compliment of men well armed, which cannot be procured, neither blunderbusses nor swivels sufficient nor guns suitable for her. If I can collect a small cargo for California I will improve it immediately, it being too late for Beerings Straits. It would have been a fortunate thing had you bought the *Barge*, as it would increase your capital near one hundred thousand dollars not only the profit of the vessel, but would have prevented that concern from entering into this trade, their agent believing they have got such foot hold they wrote four months ago for a ship of two hundred and fifty tons and a large amount of goods such as best cloths that come out in the *Paragon*. here is a powerful opposition to contend with. Capt. Ebbets and Davis are very popular at the same time conduct themselves in the most gentlemanly manner towards all concerns while their others are trying to injure. Your in haste.

Elijah Grimes

JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO MARSHALL & WILDES.

Woahoo, Village of Hannarorah,<sup>90</sup> July 6th, 1821.

GENTLEMEN,—I embrace this opportunity of writing you by the *Alexander*, Capt. Commeford who arrived here yesterday and sails this afternoon for Canton, I have to regret that I cannot offer you a more flattering account of our prospects in this quarter of the globe, than those which it is my duty to lay before you. We arrived at the Island of Woahoo on the 20th of May and came to anchor outside the reef, I immediately went on shore and consulted with Capts. Brown and Babcock with respect to further proceedings. I received their advice to proceed to Atooi and dispose of the Brig and Cargo on the best terms and deliver the Brig up as soon as the bargain might be closed; in four days after we were at Atooi; I was received with every attention and honour and welcomed by the King. I found that Tamoree had bought the Brig *Becket* and cargo

for 3200 piculs of sandalwood and also Capt. Ebbets at Anchor in the Ship *Wm and John*, selling his goods at first cost; I almost dispaired of doing anything, knowing what I had to contend with. I delivered your letter to the King and offered him the Brig and Cargo he replied that he had bought another Brig and wanted no more; I treated him with every attention and honour, made him handsome presents and gave him elegant dinners. after much trouble and difficulty I succeeded in selling the Brig and Cargo including the house for 7700 piculs of wood payable in one year, the Boat he has given me an obligation to pay when she will be finished, per twice full;<sup>51</sup> after receiving the kings notes and obligations, I gave up the Brig, leaving Capt Marsters to superintend the building of the boat and house, and returned in the schooner *Woahoo*; I endeavored much, but found it impossible to obtain dollars of the King and therefore gave it up. Our worst enemy at Atooi, I found to be Mr. George Tamoree.<sup>52</sup> he endeavored all in his power to prevent the sale of the Brig but fortunately he has no influence with his father, he has become a worthless disapated fellow, of no advantage to any one. Since the departure of the Ship at Atooi they have not cut a single stick of wood they have done nothing but dance and amuse themselves; however they now seem determined to make every exertion to pay all their debts when I left Atooi every man was gone to the mountains, I have no doubt but Tamoree will be honorable. Our prospects at the Windward Islands are rather gloomy the *Inore* is not sold and but little of the Ships cargo disposed of, the King and chiefs show no disposition at present to purchase, they are owing at least 18,000 piculs of wood, which do their best will take them a long time to procure, I think however when they can see their way clear to pay, they will take the Brig & Ships cargo. The King, Queens, and Chiefs are at *Woahoo* devouring all before them, provisions of every description are dearer here than perhaps any part of the world. The King has but little command, Pitt and Carimano do most of the business, John Adams has charge of *Owhyhee*, Cox, is here and Boka also.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Honolulu. The missionaries had not yet standardized the spelling of Hawaiian names, hence the wide variations.

<sup>51</sup> This refers to the method of selling boats and vessels. A hollow the exact dimensions of the boat's hull was made on the beach—and filled once or twice full of sandalwood according to the bargain.

<sup>52</sup> George P. Tamoree, or Kaumuali'i, was a son of the king of Atooi or Kauai, the last island to be conquered by Kamahameha I. George was intended for the Cornwall mission school, but preferred to fight in the American navy during the war of 1812. He returned to Hawaii on the *Thaddeus*.

<sup>53</sup> "Governor Cox" was English nickname of a native Chief. "John Adams," the governor of the Island of Hawaii, was his brother. "The name of Adams was given him, when a child, at the time the Presidential chair of the United States was occupied by our venerable countryman of Quincy. He considers the name a great honour, and prefers it, in being addressed, to any other." C. S. Stewart, *Private Journal* (1828) I, 119.

The Schooner *Eagle* is here overgoing a repair, as the season is so late it will be of little use for her to go to the Coast, I believe however Capt. Brown is determined to send her; had we a cargo for California, from correct information, I think we might easily obtain a thousand otters, however as we have not we must do the best we can. Capt. Suter has done every thing in his power to injure our concern, and not without a great effect; I forbear to relate to you the infamous falsehoods that have been circulated by that man respecting yourselves. acts that are unpardonable have been committed, and deeds that would disgrace the meanest wretch have been perpetrated by that man; my pen almost recoils from writing his name; but the triumph of falsehood is short and I trust in God that we who have made integrity our guide will yet reap abundantly the fruits of our labours. French John is the King's right hand man, and whatever he says is law. this man Suter has got completely under his thumb by constant flattery and bribery, he consequently acts against us. Till now I never knew the rascality of mankind, every one here is ready to cut his neighbors throat, truth never is spoken, treachery is the order of the day, I am disgusted with my fellow man—Crimakoo<sup>54</sup> goes from here tomorrow in the *Bordeaux Packet* for Owhyhee and will return in a few days, when as he has promised he will decide whether he takes the Brig or not, should we be able to close with him it will be a long time before the wood could be collected say two years.

The Sandwich Islands are not what they were two years ago they are glutted with every merchandize, and vessels more than they know what to do with, even the elegant Brig *Cleopatras Barge*<sup>55</sup> which they purchased more than a year since and for which they have not yet paid a single stick, they would willingly pay Capt. Suter a thousand piculs if he would take her back; they are sick of trading, all their subjects are complaining and endeavoring to influence them to purchase no more, what will be the final event is difficult to determine.

In the *Tamahourcellanne* we met with no success at the Marquesa. we found them at Noohevah returned to their savage state, not a stick of wood to be obtained, we landed Titarro and in three days started for Roberts Island, in going out of the harbour we fell in

"Carimano" is Kaahumanu, one of the Queen Dowagers, and also married simultaneously to George Tamoree and his father. "Billy Pitt" was the English nickname of the King's prime minister: Boki was his brother.

<sup>54</sup> Kalaimoku, the prime minister, generally known as "Billy Pitt."

<sup>55</sup> There is a lithograph of the *Cleopatra's Barge* lying at anchor in Lahaina Roads, in C. S. Stewart, *Private Journal of a Voyage*, (1828), 172; also reproduced in my *Maritime History of Massachusetts*.



with the *Inore* Capt. Grimes, when both brigs bore away for Roberts Islands, arriving there we found to our mortification a heavy sea continually rolling in to the bay, and the wind continually out rendering it impossible to get in without we might warp, and then nothing could be done to the vessels. finding this to be the case, it was judged advisable to return to Nooheva, which we did after Capt. Grimes and myself had ascertained respecting birds nests. we first obtained one of the birds which proved to be of the species of gull. we next with great hazard and difficulty ascended the steep bluff rock, and to our mortification discovered that these birds built no nests but deposited their eggs in the small crevices of the rocks, thus were we disappointed. after refitting the Brig in the best possible manner we proceeded to the Sandwich Islands where we arrived as before related.

Capt. Davis<sup>56</sup> is residing here, the *Arab* has gone to Sitka, Capt. Blanchard<sup>57</sup> takes passage in the *Alexander*, he leaves Mr. Hunnewell behind to collect his wood, he has about 400 piculs owing him; he goes home I understand with the idea of coming out in a ship for Bryant & Sturgis to be sold here, this however is only report; Capt. Pigot in the *St. Martin* with several Americans have gone to settle Fannings Islands, there is plenty of lamar<sup>58</sup> and Tortoise shell at those Islands; The Brig *Pedlar* of Newyork is on the Coast she did nothing at these Islands. Capt. Harris is also on the coast, their prospects are bad. Capt. Ebbets is building a beautiful pilot boat at this Island. she will be launched in a few days and is probably sold. We are at present keeping store in the lower part of the wooden house, the upper room is finished in an elegant style and very much admired by the Chiefs. we had a dinner in it on the 4th inst. I can not forbear mentioning to you the service Mr. Elwell has been and now is to our concern, all speak of him in high terms, had he not remained I dont know what would have been the fate of the property left, behind, let me recommend him to your kind notice. I need not add that at all times I shall use my best exertions to promote your interest and trust that I shall ever deserve your approbation, my only wish is that Capt. Wildes was here. We com-

<sup>56</sup> William H. Davis. See p. 18, *supra*.

<sup>57</sup> Commander of the brig *Thaddeus*, that brought the first missionaries to Honolulu.

<sup>58</sup> *Roche de mer* or trepang, a kind of sea-cucumber that was collected and dried for the Canton trade.

<sup>59</sup> "May 23, 1820, arrival of the brig *Pedlar*. Captain Meek, bringing the first letters from the Board and friends in America." Journal of Elisha Loomis, in O. H. Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii*, 83. The *Sandwich Island Gazette*, I, no. 1 (July 30, 1826) mentions "the enclosure of Capt. John Meek" at Honolulu. There was also a Capt. Thomas Meek of Marblehead, who settled in Honolulu, married a native woman and became a government pilot. John D. Whidden, *Ocean Life in Old Sailing Ship Days* (1908), 63; Brewer, *op. cit.*, 27, 32.

mence building the ten foot house (brought out in the *Neo*) the next week. An opportunity will offer shortly of forwarding letters by way of Cape Horn, when I shall write more particular. With respect I am, Gentlemen, Your Obdt. Servt.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO MARSHALL & WILDES.

Island of Woahoo, Oct. 5th, 1821.

King Rheo Rheo is only a boy, pleased with a rattle tickled with a straw, rum is his god, scarce have I seen him sober, he is flying from one Island to another, devouring all before him about two months since in one of his frolicks, he started with about 30 in a little pleasure boat, and the next day landed at Atooi, soon followed him all the Chiefs and Queens in the *Barge, Neo, Bordeaux Packet* and *Inore*, there they commenced their round of dissipation and put a stop to all business on that Island, every man was recalled, from cutting wood And mirth was the order of the day; I was present when Tamoree gave every thing he possessed to Rheo Rheo and acknowledged him to be his king, he went so far as even to carry his powry dish behind him wherever he went. after having visited every part of the Island, Rheo Rheo returned a few days since in the *Cleopatras Barge*, and has brought up Tamoree with him, for what purpose we know not. some say he will never return, I do not think so myself; all their vessels are here in harbour, and their intention at present is to visit all the windward Islands, we shall do our endeavors to prevent this, Tamoree is fast growing old, and I think is not long for this world, should he pop off I tremble for the consequence. Pit is here, he returned yesterday from the mountains where he has been cutting wood for the last five months, he is almost worn out, Cox has charge of Atooi, John Adams is at Owhyhee, Carhamario is at the leeward part of the Island, she and Pit are the only persons we put any dependance on they have some sense of propriety and integrity.

Had the *Cleopatras Barge* never have come to these Islands we should in all probability have made as great a voyage as ever was performed in these seas, that vessel is so superior to any of ours, that they will scarce look at them, had the sale of the *Barge* been managed right, she would have sold for 12000 piculs as quick as she did for 6000, they almost adore her; Suiter has done every thing to injure us, and succeeded in some degree, he has persecuted our concern to an overbearing degree; every foreigner in this country is

ready to cut his neighbors throat, truth is a stranger here, the Sandal-wood fever will deprive some of their reason.

Our expenses at these Islands will be much greater than they were on previous voyages, Provisions are much dearer here than in Boston market; every pound of pork we have bought has cost 16cts., potatoes \$4 a barrel, other things in proportion. the *Paragon* has expended nearly all her salt provisions, if she stays much longer she will eat us out. labour too is also high, we have to pay one dollar per day for Conacars," and have been obliged to hire a large number, the *Paragon* has now only 3 men before the mast belonging to her, the *Inore* not one, Capt. Brown has been confined with a white swelling about two months. he is now recovering; Babcock is here not of much use to any one. I have determined myself to stop here till the next year considering the large property we shall have here, in that time I hope to sell everything and collect the funds; I shall at all times use my best endeavours to promote the interest of the voyage and hope when it shall have terminated to meet your approbation. With Respect

J. C. Jones, Jr.

Island of Woahoo, Nov. 5th, 1821.

The small schooner brought out in the *Inore* was launched yesterday. we have named her the *Boston*, she will be fitted as soon as possible, and probably sold for twice full. The wooden house is set up and in great forwardness. King Rheo Rheo is at Owhyhee; Tamoree is here and has married Carhamano, they intend going to Atooi shortly. The Brig *Thaddeus* Capt. Sumner arrived this morning from Kamschatka with a cargo of fish, cordage, and axes. . . .

Island of Woohoa, December, 23d, 1821.

GENTLEMEN.—The Brig *Pedlar* Capt. Meek sails on the morrow for China by her I have the pleasure to advise you of the safe arrival of the Brig *Owhyhee*, Capt. Henry, One hundred and forty nine days to this Island, she is now in Harbour and striped, caulking and putting in order for the coast; her cargo for the coast is excellent indeed, perhaps never a better went to that market, she will have many to contend with in that part of the world, but with her superior goods, and the good skill and management of Capt. Grimes I think she will be able to weather other adventures. The articles designated for the Islands are good and in some demand, but they are charged so enormous high that if the Invoice exhibits the true cost, we cannot dispose of them for any profit. You have limited

the price of the Poca-ava beads to \$5 pr string, this we never shall obtain, the market has already been stocked, and the highest offer we had had has been one dollar. The cordials also, we might sell the whole at two dollars pr. bottle, but the Invoice tells us that is only cost.

Capt. Grimes has returned in the schooner from California, he has done as well as might have been expected, his goods were not fit for that market, he has brought back in skins and money about \$7000 and not expended \$2000 of his cargo, had he have had proper articles he would have made a great voyage.

The *Inore* is sold and I am sorry to say for 3700 piculs of wood, we were obliged to close at that price, knowing that other vessels were on their passage to be sold here for what they would fetch what could be done with her however I know not, she has not even a single rope to set a steering sail, not a pound of provisions, not a single man belonging to her, could we have obtained no more than 200 piculs we should have been obliged to have sold her for that.

The major part of the *Paragon's* cargo is disposed of, the large guns, muskets, powder and hollow ware, will be a dead sett. Rum and Cloth are the only articles in demand and even those articles pay only a moderate profit. The *Paragon* may possibly sail from here in twenty or thirty days, she has now on board nearly 4000 piculs and we are using our endeavors to make up the 5000, when I trust she will be off. By the tenor of your letter to Capt. Brown you seem to calculate on 100,000\$ in Canton this season, I think you will be fortunate indeed if your funds equal half that amount. I am fearful that wood will be a drug this year, owing to the large quantity that has gone down. Times I believe are as hard here as they are at home, the days for making a voyage to the S. Islands have past, the natives are now too much enlightened, they know well the value of every article, if they do not there are plenty of canting, hypocritical missionaries to enform them, even though unasked. It must be a long time before your business at these Islands will be closed, we have been obliged to trust them, and now we have got to fight for our pay.

Tamoree yet remains at this Island, he appears to have lost all his former activity and energy, relapsed into a state of stupidity and idleness. Carhamano his consort, is just emerging from a fit of sickness which brought her to death's door, she now appears only the shadow of what she formerly was. King Rheo Rheo is now at the Hedus, Owwhyhee, he is expected here evry day, you might as

well however calculate on the wind. Two Russian discovery ships are now at anchor in this port, they are in want of nothing but wine and gin; had you have invested a few thousand dollars in the former article we might have sold it for money two hundred per cent.

The small schooner which was built at Atooi, is now here, she is finished in a most elegant manner, and reflects credit on Capt. Masters and the carpenter. Tamoree has consented to let Cox buy her, and we are about closing with him for 1200 piculs, which will be a good price for her, they are both beautiful vessels.

A great mistake has been made in sending so few men in the new Brig. Capt. Grimes will be obliged to ship whoever he can get, good or bad and at high wages; all vessels on the coast now have got double crews; the Brig *Frederick*, Capt. Stetson sailed from here yesterday, who came to these Islands from the Coast, for the purpose only of getting more men for himself and Capt. Clark, he has taken away about twenty. I trust you will have a ship here by September next, otherwise I do not know how we shall get the wood down, to pay two dollars a picul freight is too much, none will take it for less. By the *Paragon* I shall write you every particular, Your Obdt. Servt.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

Woahoo, Sandwich Islands, January 22d, 1822.

We have now owed us at the Islands over 13,000 piculs, this will take some time to collect, especially at Atooi, but I have no fear but we shall eventually obtain all; the circumstance of Tamoree's coming up here and his marriage with Carhamano, has been of accountable injury to our cause, he remains here still, almost afraid to say his soul's his own, whenever he speaks of going to Atooi, his lady is immediately taken ill, he told me in confidence a few days since, that he was miserable, and wished the devil had Carhamano. whether they ever intend he should return is hard to say, some think not, the ways of these people are past finding out. Not long since I had a conversation with Rheo Rheo on the subject, I told him how anxious Tamoree was to return, reminding him of the large debt he was owing, he replied he was at liberty to go when he pleased, and if he could not pay his debts himself, he would, he would pay them for him.

The last accounts we have from Atooi, all the Chiefs and people had returned to the mountains to cut wood. Tamoree's former quean now rules at Atooi, the Brig is called hers, and she holds her-

self obligated to pay for it. we have her name to the obligation. As I have written you before our most bitter and professed enemy at Atooi is Mr. George Tamoree, one of the most finished rascals the Islands offers. his last act of villany has completely established him infamy; Capt. Masters came up here the last week his dwelling houses having been destroyed by fire, and who do you think was the incendiary, no one less than Mr. George Tamoree and merely because Capt. Masters denied him a bottle of gin; the amount of property destroyed including officers wearing apparel, &c., we estimated at 2500\$ I immediately called on King Tamoree in an official manner stated to him the circumstance, and demanded redress, he was convinced of the magnitude of the crime and his responsibility for the loss, accordingly he promised to make good the amount destroyed; 250 piculs of wood have been put on board the *Paragon* to satisfy that demand. I expect to have a great deal of trouble and difficulty with Mr. George, I shall not give him any quarter. we have concluded it is best not to have any agent at Atooi as it will be an unnecessary expense, as fast as the wood shall be brought from the mountains we shall transport it in the *Schr.* to this Island. There is now a communication between this place and Atooi about once a week. Capt. Babcock and myself remain as your agents, and I trust at all times we shall be able to give you satisfaction, and succeed to your expectations; I shall return myself the next year. I hope to see a ship from you by August next. Mr. Elwell returns in the *Paragon*. Your Obdt. Servt.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

CAPT. ELIAH GRIMES TO MARSHALL & WILDES

In my last communication I mentioned California being more suitable for the Schooner than the NWN Coast, which has proved to be the case, as Capt. Stetson has been obliged to return to these Islands for armament and men for both vessels and says a vessel cannot cruise on that coast without a large compliment. . . .

[I] believe it best to combine both coasts in one that is the NW Coast from the month of February until August when the fishing comes on, leave there for California and cruise there until December, then leave for the Sandwich Islands, where I shall meet some one of your vessels, giving you such information as is necessary, in so doing I am confident it will be much more profitable and much less risk than being on the NW Coast in the winter season. I will here give you a short account of what was sold in California and what returns \$1938.42 cts amount of goods sold. Cash

\$4294.41 cts. Skins \$656.07 cts. this will give you an idea what may be done on the Coast with a good selections of goods to the amount of from ten to fifteen thousand dollars. I am in hopes to get about four thousand dollars from Canton by Capt. Meek who goes down this season and returns the next to Norfolk sound, such articles as are wanted very much and may be got cheaper there than any where else, should that be the case I shall be well provided for both coasts next season, we are fitting the Brig with all possible dispatch and will sail soon as ready, in my next letter by Capt. Brown I shall be more particular respecting California I beg you will not be displeased in sending this letter under cover to Capt. Pratt as we believe some letters have been opened. Yours with esteem,

Elijah Grimes.

JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO MARSHALL & WILDES.

Woahoo, August 10th, 1822.

In February last I chartered the Schooner *Eagle* to Wm. H. Davis for 1500 dollars, to proceed to Fannings Island in the Latitude 3'46" N Longitude 149" west. this trip she performed in forty days and brought back to Capt. Davis 120 piculs Beach De Lamar, the earnings of 12 months. The settlers at Fannings Island find that nothing will grow on the Island. Hogs, Goats and Fowls die immediately. Capt. Davis has since chartered an English Cutter to carry them provisions, she returned a few days since, this I think will be a losing business: The Brig *Quil* has been laying here all summer and done nothing, they have endeavored to sell the Brig and Cargo, but have not succeeded, I understand she is going to China for a cargo for the Spanish Main. The Ship *Tartar* returned here in May from Canton with a small China Investment; which she has sold to advantage: The King has also paid all but about 800 piculs of what was due for the *Barge* and has declined paying any more, and the *Barge* has proved good for nothing, every timber aloft her mainmast is so defective that you can pull out any of her bolts with your fingers, her transom, &c. is all punk. she is now hauled up and condemned and will never leave the harbour again. So much for the famous *Barge*. Sturgis<sup>61</sup> may hang up his fiddle here, it is a fortunate thing that the *Barge* did not belong to our concern.

The Brig *Arab* Capt. Meek arrived here in June last from China with a full cargo part intended for the Russians and part for here she disposed of most of her cargo here and sailed in July for Nor-

<sup>61</sup> William Sturgis of the firm Bryant & Sturgis.

folk Sound. The Brig *Pedlar* of New York is here with a China Cargo last from the Russian settlement. she took 10.000 seal Skins; he will dispose of the remainder of his cargo here in time. The English government have sent to the King of the Sandwich Islands a present of a Schooner of 50 Tons, this has made the English popular and been of much injury to the American Trade.

During the summer the harbour has been crowded with whale ships, not less say than sixty; this has consequently made provisions scarce and dear, hogs twelve dollars, nothing but money, potatoes \$3 per barrel, no tarrou to be had. We are now obliged to pay money for everything we use and glad to get it for that; our trade is nearly exhausted; we had hoped ere this that a ship agreeable to promise would have been sent here by you, had one arrived here in June with the frames of one or two schooners, some calicoes, cloths, liquors, &c., we should have made a handsome thing of it, our concern stands at present higher than any other, they say we have sold them good vessels and good goods and they will buy of us in preference to any other. The house at this Island is finished above and handsomely finished but I do not think it will sell for any profit. All our boards are expended consequently we can do nothing with the house at Atooi. The carpenters are now employed building a boat and doing some work for Mr. Pitt. the Tailor about pays his way and is a useful man. I have purchased of Capt. De Koven 200 Sheets of Copper at 40 cents pr pound, we expect to have the Job of repairing the *Bordeaux Packet*. I can sell the copper at any time for 65 cents.

Woahoo, Oct. 10th, 1822.

The Schooner *Eagle* as I informed you by the *Houqua* I had sent to the Coast of California with a small cargo for the purpose of collecting a cargo of beef, &c., and had also made an arrangement with Capt. Wm. H. Davis (having recd. information by Mr. Don Arismenda the agent of the Phillippian Company who touched here in an English Brig that the *Cossack* Brig was at St. Barbary<sup>62</sup> owned by the same scoundrel, who took possession of her, that in case the Schr. *Eagle* fell in with the *Cossack* she might take possession of her, if possible and bring her to this port, for which, whether she took her or not, he was to pay me two thousand dollars, and in case she took her in addition one half the vessel for the owners of schr. she went accordingly to Monterray and salted her beef, &c. here a boat's crew deserted. she then went to St. Barbary where

<sup>62</sup> Santa Barbara.



she sent a boat on board the *Cossack* and took possession and both vessels got underweigh; the wind dying away a heavy swell set the schr. into the Kelp from which they had not strength to extricate her, she struck and her mainmast went over the side, in the morning the Spaniards had collected in great numbers and boarded her, Capt. Rogers and crew left her and went on board the *Cossack*, which vessel is now here with a cargo of wheat. The two thousand dollars I shall send by the *Cossack*; and the proportion of the vessel and cargo I shall dispose of on the best terms and remit the proceeds; the schr. will have sold to a good profit, she was destitute of every thing, her copper entirely off, her masts not sea worthy and leaking bad, she would cost more to have repaired her, than she was worth, she had been to us a bill of expense. I know not if you will censure me for this enterprise, I can only say I did it with the best motives and to make you if possible some money, Capt. Rogers will go on board the *Parthian* as chief officer, as Capt. Brewster has broke Mr. Adams. . . .

The King and most of the Royal family are now at Woahoo, Tamoree and Carharmano have gone to Atoï. Some talk of a revolution here. they say that Tamoree is to be King of all the Islands and Carhamano Queen, they have a strong party in their favor, should any thing of the kind happen I shall endeavor to keep on the strongest side, at present I have no fears and I think I can assure you that your affairs stand here in as favorable situation as possible, I do not fear what any adventures can do to us, we have been tried and now stand firm.

The *Inore* and *Tammahourelanne* both prove good vessels, they are much pleased with them and the *Neo* they call their best vessel. Provisions of every description continue high, and nothing but dollars will command hogs, goats, &c. there are no less than six whalers in the harbour at this time, all of them wanting fresh supplies; . . .

If you can obtain a quantity of feathers, red, black, white, &c., they will do well and I think it would be a good plan to send the King and Queen a present of some value. They ask after Oherry and wish to see him much. Mr. Marshall Jr.<sup>63</sup> is here and well I find him a pleasant companion, much the gentleman and perfectly correct in all his deportment.

63 Josiah Thompson Marshall (1803-75), eldest son of Josiah. He was frequently a supercargo in his father's vessels. He is said to have visited China five times before he was 21 years of age, and to have been one of the first Americans to dine with the Emperor. He was later active in the temperance movement, and the "underground railroad." Frank Burnside Kingsbury, *Marshall Family Record* (Keene, N. H., 1913), II.

I shall go to Atooi in the *Parthian* in ten days from this, her cargo is landed and debenture certificate enclosed: also Obed Wyer's dft on his owners and acct merchandize in Schr. Your Obdt. St.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

MARTIN BREWSTER TO MARSHALL & WILDES

Woahoo, Oct. 11th, 1822.

DEAR SIRs,—I take the opportunity to inform you by the way of Canton in Case you should not receive those by the *Spermo* and Nantucket whalemén, We arrived here in 117 days from the time we weighed anchor till we came too at Woahoo. We have had fine weather but light winds, we crost the line in the Pacific Ocean in one hundred days, my crew have behaved very well as yet, but I expect they will get corrupted in this place for the off scourings of the earth is here and every ship has had more or less trouble with their men. The officers, the second is a good man, the first has deserted the ship; a few days before we arrived I broke him for refusing to obey my orders; after we arrived I offered to settle but he refusel to settle and left the ship. . . .

Martin Brewster.

JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO MARSHALL & WILDES.

Woahoo, Nov. 16th, 1822.

The lumber by the *Parthian* will not be sufficient to build the house at Atooi, nor do I think it would be well to undertake it; Tamoree owes more than he will pay for a length of time, and the natives do not like that Americans should erect wooden houses, for they are quite jealous of the Yankees; it is my present intention to send all the mecanicks home in the *Parthian*, provisions are too scarce, living too expensive to make them any object, and the trouble they give is immense; there are too many allurements and temptations to lead them astray, perhaps you will not credit it, when I tell you there are now on this Island, seventeen established grog shops kept by white people, and not less than one hundred deserters from different whale ships; Woahoo is becoming one of the vilest places on the globe, and if something is not done soon, murder and theft will be the order of the day, for my own part it will be the happiest day in my life, when I leave this miserable corner of the globe.

[Oahu,] Nov. 22d, 1822.

I have only a moment to spare as the *Balaena* is under weigh. The Brig *Pearl* has this moment arrived from Norfolk Sound, she

had been at the Sound about twenty days and endeavoring to sell her cargo, when a Russian vessel arrived from Kamschatka with dispatches for the governor, from the emperor of Russia, the Brig *Pearl* was immediately ordered to leave port, not even permitted to take from the shore some articles which she had there, they claim the right to all the Coast and are determined to capture all vessels if taken after they shall be ordered off; two vessels at the sound received orders to be fitted immediately and armed, to proceed up and down the coast to cruise for the shipping. Capt. Stevens in the *Pearl* informs that the day he left the Sound, he fell in with the Russian frigate *Apollo* of 32 guns, she was bound into the Sound and thence on to the Coast where she was to remain to capture all vessels and carry them to Kamschatka for trial. I hope our government will not suffer our valuable trade on the North-West-Coast to be taken away from us, by a nation who but a few years since were but a race of barbarians. Your Obedt. Servt.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

Woahoo, Dec., 1822.

His majesty the King is at this moment dangerously ill. Old Karhamano is at Atooi and Messrs Pitt and Boka sail tomorrow if possible to bring her ladyship to this Island. there appears to be some fears that Karhamano and Tamoree intend to take possession of the Islands. I am endeavoring to make them believe this will be the case in order that we may sell our powder and muskets. All our debts are safe and our concern stands No 1. I shall write you by the *Parthian*. Your Obed Servt.

John C. Jones, Jr.

Woahoo, Jany., 1823.

The ship *Mentor* of Boston is here doing nothing, also the Brig *Pearl*, which vessel was ordered from the Coast by the Russians. also Schr's *Rover* and *Ann* of Boston the latter just arrived, they will do nothing. I consider myself that the time has passed for making a voyage to the Sandwich Islands, articles have got to such low prices, and the heavy expense attending it have rendered the trade here of little or no object. I do not advise you to send much property here what you do send let it be good, such as superfine cloths, ready made clothes and shirts, Calicoes of every description, Rum, wine and gin, handsome feathers, some good hats, and shoes of large and small sizes; ladies Bonnets and gowns, large size different patterns say of silk, calico, Cambrick, &c., sea coal, lumber

copper, plank paints, and rigging, wheel Barrows, hand carts, light waggons, ox carts, and large size 4 wheel waggons, leather trunks covered with red leather, different sizes tables, cheap writing desks, table cloths, &c., &c. . . .

one article I have forgot to mention that I think would sell here that is a quantity of pumps and gear as wells are now all the rage, indeed you can hardly move in the night without walking into a well. The King too is very anxious to have a billiard table, one that you might get for two hundred dollars would command at least 1500\$. If a steam boat could be brought here it would command any price, the King and Pitt say they would give any price for one, in fact any thing that is new would sell here. I think it would be a good plan to send the King and Mr. Pitt, also Tamore, some valuable present, it will go a great ways; they have conducted thus far very fair and are deserving of praise. . . .

Woahoo, March 9th, 1823.  
(pr Brig Pearl)

The articles in demand now are fine calicoes and Cambricks, silks, ladies shoes, large size, good hats, ready made clothes, shirts, ladies bonnets, different patterns, any quantity would sell, shawls scarfs gowns, ribbon handsome patterns, large size cheap trunks, Furniture, superfine Broadcloth and Cassimere, damask table cloth and cloth do, many articles also might be selected of a showy kind that would answer well, a few ladies lace caps and articles of those description would find quick sale; if you could send a miliner here she would be a profitable person. We are employed at present in building a 30 foot boat for the King, which he wants for his royal barge; shall afterwards finish the lower part of the House, and hope when the *Paragon*<sup>64</sup> arrives she will bring a large quantity of lumber also the frame of a boat. The King and all the Royal family are now here, his majesty is just recovering from a severe illness, and it is the opinion of the physicians that a similar attack would carry him off, his debauches have ruined his constitution. The Royal family are contemplating a visit to the Marquesas and Othaeite, but whether they will undertake it is hard to say, but am inclined to think they will, I shall use my endeavor if possible to prevent it.

Trade never will again flourish at these Islands until these missionaries from the Andover mill are recalled, they are continually

<sup>64</sup> The *Paragon* on this voyage included in her crew Charles Brewer, who later became the leading merchant of Honolulu, and as second mate and sailmaker, John Dominis of Boston, who later became her master and whose son married Princess Liliuokalani, later Queen of the islands.

telling the King and Chiefs that the white people traders are cheating and imposing on them, consequently have depreciated the value of most articles. I believe it is a fact generally acknowledged by all here, that the natives are fifty per cent worse in every vice since the missionaries began their hypocritical labour here; these blood suckers of the community had much better be in their native country gaining their living by the sweat of their brow, than living like lords in this luxurious land, distracting the minds of these children of Nature with the idea that they are to be eternally damned unless they think and acts as they do: and that Providence would put a whip in every honest hand to lash such rascals naked through the world. The Brig *Arab* [Capt.] Meek is now at Owwhyhee endeavoring to collect wood, he intends going to China and return this season. The Brig *Pearl* by whom you receive this will I think make a most ruinous voyage, indeed she must sink every thing. The harbour is now filled with whale ships, not less than eighteen, provisions consequently scarce and dear, we have also here on shore all the crews of two whale ships lately wrecked the *Lion* and the *Two Brothers* of Nantucket.

John C. Jones, Jr.

Woahoo, May 31, 1823.

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A cargo should consist of an assortment of everything, no great quantity of any one article, were I at home myself I could select an outfit that would do well. Ox teams, light waggons, hand carts, wheel barrows, carriages, and one or two of those vehicles call'd barrouches two or three chaises. you might be surprised that such articles would sell, but you would be more surprised to see how fast these people are advancing towards civilization, only two days since Mr. Pitt asked me to send for three carriages and have them adorned with gold, every thing new and elegant will sell and at a good profit, coarse articles are of no use. . . .

John C. Jones, Jr.